

Imagining Japan and China in *Dark Princess*: W. E. B. DuBois's Transpacific Imagination of World Revolution in the Late 1920s

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With Negro and Negroid, East Indian, Chinese and Japanese they form two-thirds of the population of the world . . . Today Japan is hammering on the door of justice, China is raising her half-manacled hands to knock, India is writhing for the freedom to knock . . .¹

— W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil*, 1920

Japan intrigued me as holding the destiny of the darker work int [sic] its hands. And who has not dreamed of China?²

— W. E. B. Du Bois, “Russia and America: An Interpretation,” 1950

In 1926, the Soviet playwright Sergei Tretiakov's drama, *Roar, China!* (Rychi Kitai), was premiered at the Meyerhold theatre in Moscow.³ The play is based on an actual conflict between Chinese workers and the British Navy in China that ended with the public execution of two Chinese boatmen in 1924. Horrified by British imperialism, Tretiakov wrote the play when he was a visiting professor of Russian literature at Peking University. Among the audience of *Roar, China!* was the preeminent African American activist-intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois, who was visiting the Soviet Union. During his six-week tour, Du Bois also visited Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, a Comintern institution that trained Chinese politicians and radicals, many of whom would go on to

play major roles in modern Chinese history.⁴ We do not know exactly whom Du Bois met there, but Du Bois recalled that he saw “striking diagrams of China’s political and economic serfdom showing England in control of customs and salt; France running the Post Office.”⁵ Although it would be another decade before his first visit to China, this was probably Du Bois’s early encounter with Chinese revolutionaries and introduction to China’s semicolonial status quo, which allowed him to understand the Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen’s alliance with the Soviet Union in the 1920s.⁶

Two years later, Du Bois published his novel *Dark Princess: A Romance* in which he imagines a united world of peoples of color by foregrounding an interracial romantic relationship. Matthew Towns, the novel’s protagonist, is a medical student. Due to racial segregation, Matthew is barred from enrolling in required courses in obstetrics at a white hospital. Fed up with racism in the United States, Matthew exiles himself to Berlin where he encounters an Indian princess Kautilya, a leader of a fictional organization, the Anti-Imperialist Council of Darker Peoples. The organization was likely inspired by Du Bois’s visit to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, a revolutionary training institution with students from over 70 countries during his 1926 visit to Moscow.⁷

Much of the existing scholarly analyses of this novel tend to focus on the romance between the black American and the Indian princess and its implication for Du Bois’s conceptualization of internationalism and black-Asian solidarity. Claudia Tate reminds us that romance is a strategy that Du Bois frequently used in his writing to convey his racial politics.⁸ Herman Beavers argues that the romantic relationship is nonetheless animated by patriarchal conventions, betraying Du Bois’s attitude regarding gender that was constrained by the historical conditions of his time.⁹ Foregrounding sexual and reproductive politics in Du Bois’s writing, Alys Eve Weinbaum aptly shows that Matthew’s consciousness of internationalism cannot be developed without his love for Kautilya. Ending with the consummation of the interracial marriage and the birth of a baby, *Princess* marks Du Bois’s attempt to integrate African Americans in what Weinbaum calls the “racial globality”—that is, “the robustly revolutionary and internationalist goal of black belonging in the world.”¹⁰

These analyses of *Princess*, astute and important as they are, have overlooked Du Bois’s sensibility to both elite Asian activists’ antiblack prejudice and inter-Asian geopolitical relations in *Princess*. Despite its significance for black-Asian solidarity, the predominant focus on romance has obscured the rift between black America and Asia, falling prey to romanticizing Du Bois’s interpretation of black-Asian relations in monolith terms of a shared history of racism and oppression and a taken-for-granted interracial solidarity. One conspicuous and constant issue in *Princess* is Matthew’s collision with the Asian elites in the Anti-Imperialist Council of Darker Peoples—what the protagonist calls “a color line within a color line.”¹¹ Moreover, romance cannot encapsulate what Bill Mullen calls the “multiple affiliations and connections between the black and Asian worlds” that Du Bois has sought to establish.¹² Without attending to

distinctive national differences, intricate inter-Asian geopolitical relations and colonial histories, the focus on romance in *Princess* teleologically takes Asia as an anticolonial unity, exhibiting the U.S.-based American studies scholars' lack of interest and efforts in knowing the "Other" while developing cutting-edge critiques of U.S. colonialism and imperialism in Asia.

What if we shift our focus from the interracial romance to inter-Asian relations and a much broader black-Asian relationship? I propose that analysis of *Princess* needs to take other characters and their relations with the romantic couple into account in order to comprehend the rift between Asia and black America, and the inter-Asian geopolitical relations. To pay more attention to the hierarchy, oppression, and power relations both within Asia and between Asia and black America may yield a more nuanced reading of *Princess* and a more critical analysis of both potentials and pitfalls in Du Bois's concept of world revolution. Du Bois's transpacific imagination of world revolution in *Princess* is not just a romance but full of tension and reflection. Some scholarship has suggested that underneath the romance of *Princess* lies the global changes of the 1920s. Arnold Rampersad notes that *Princess* speaks to global issues such as European colonialism after WWI, the rise of militarism in Japan and anticolonial movements in India and China.¹³ Contending that the novel is more than a romance, Dohra Ahmad examines the coincidence of the novel's shifts between social realism and exotic romance in genre with the shifts in the locales of Chicago, India, and the American South.¹⁴ Above all, Bill Mullen has trailblazed a geopolitical path for interpreting *Princess* beyond romance. Mullen pays close attention to the details of Du Bois's historical engagements with Asia and the Soviet Union, and he carefully delineates the imprints of Moscow, Berlin, India, China, and the United States on Du Bois's geopolitical mapping of world revolution.¹⁵ Taking *Princess* as Du Bois's Comintern novel, "a conceptual meditation of the Soviet experiment in the politics of national self-determination as the gateway to world revolution," Mullen's work shifts our focus from the anticolonial movements in India (which Mullen does not ignore in analyzing *Princess*) to Communism in the Soviet Union.¹⁶ But while Mullen has noticed that the inclusion of Chinese diasporic activists in this novel anticipates Du Bois's "creeping understanding in the early 1930s of China as one of the world's oppressed darker nations," he has not probed the full and deep meaning of the two Chinese characters and their relationship with black America.¹⁷

Expanding on Mullen's geopolitical analysis of *Princess* and the influence of the Soviet Union on Du Bois, I suggest that a number of historical currents in Asia, and especially Japan and China, converged and diverged in Du Bois's transpacific imagination of world revolution in *Princess*. Notably, Japan and China were undergoing significant historical transformations in the first two decades of the twentieth century when *Princess* was likely to have been conceived. Deeply militarized, Japan was already a colonial and imperialist power, whereas transitioning to a republic nation-state, China unshackled its centuries-old feudalism in the 1911 Xinhai Revolution, launched anti-imperialist campaigns and fermented

proletarian and Communist revolts under the Soviet direction and aid. As the beginning of this essay also shows, it was through his 1926 visit to the Soviet Union that Du Bois began to grapple with China's position in world revolution conception. Examining the literary representations of Japan and China in *Princess* against these historical changes contributes to complicating our understanding of Du Bois's transpacific imagination of world revolution during this period.

By historicizing Du Bois's imagination of world revolution in the late 1920s, this essay hopes to rethink the transpacific arc of Du Bois's imagination of world revolution in the contexts of geopolitical relations in Asia and dissonances in black-Asian relations. My reading will show that *Princess* exhibits Du Bois's sensibility to both the peril of Japan's hegemony and the potential of China's anti-imperialist movements in the late 1920s. In fact, Du Bois's portrayal of the Japanese and Chinese activists in *Princess*, minor as they seem in contrast to the heroine Kautilya, embodies both Du Bois's understanding of geopolitical relations in Asia and his interpretation of the dialectics between race and class. This has led him to develop a more multifaceted conceptualization of world revolution to challenge global white supremacy and imperialism. According to Gerald Horne, *Princess* presents "a fictionalized version of the V-shaped formation attacking white supremacy, with Japan at the point and India and Black America on each side."¹⁸ However, my analysis of the Japanese and Chinese characters in this novel will show that different visions coexisted and contested with each other in Du Bois's concept of world revolution. I argue that the other V-shaped formation inspired by Russia and manifested in the imagined black-Chinese alliance emerged in *Princess* at the critical moment of the late 1920s. The Japan-headed race formation and the Soviet-inspired anti-imperialist formation become visible when we juxtapose the very distinctive representations of the Japanese and Chinese activists and examine their divergent relations with Matthew Towns in *Princess* against the historical changes in Japan and China. These literary figures are symptomatic of not only Du Bois's ambivalent attitude towards Japan but also his emerging interest in China, constituting two contesting formations based on respectively Japan's racial defiance against the West and China's anti-imperialist movements.¹⁹ Du Bois identifies black America as a site that synthesizes the dialectics between race and class. Toward the end of *Princess*, Matthew and Kautilya reunite in Virginia with the birth of their baby, "the messenger and messiah to all the Darker Worlds," and the romantic couple hold their wedding on the International Workers' Day. Reorienting his transpacific imagination of world revolution to the American South, Du Bois conceives the convergence of the two contested formations in black America. Despite his influence by Stalinism, the black-Chinese alliance built upon the conviction in the power of the masses exhibited in *Princess* also foresees Du Bois's allegiance to Communist China during the Cold War.

Not Just A Romance: Black-Asian Dissonance and Du Bois's Ambivalent Desire for Japan

From the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 onward, Japan's rise and its assertion of racial equality have caught many black intellectual-activists' attention, motivating their struggles against racism in the United States. Yuichiro Onishi underscores both the heterogeneity amidst the attitudes of black intellectual-activists toward Japan and the convergence of dissimilar ideological and political orientations at critical junctures between 1917 and 1922, a period in which the New Negro as an ontological category formed.²⁰ For example, whereas Marcus Garvey embraced Japan's increasing assertiveness in international politics without paying attention to its imperialism, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen remained cautious of Japan's imperialist agenda in the Paris Peace Conference, and they mapped the race question on a global scale and interrogated racial discrimination in the world system.²¹ As Du Bois himself recalled, he "look[ed] upon the Japanese as leaders of the world fight against white imperialism," and this idea was confirmed by Japan's "unsuccessful attempt to force a declaration of racial equality through the League of Nations in 1919; the effort of Europe to limit her navy in 1922."²²

Japan's position in Du Bois's transpacific imagination of world revolution can be summarized succinctly by Gerald Horne's view on *Princess*: "a fictionalized version of the V-shaped formation attacking white supremacy, with Japan at the point and India and Black America on each side."²³ However, a close analysis of the Japanese activist and his troubled relations with Matthew Towns, the black American in *Princess*, shows that this V-shaped formation headed by Japan is not without inconsistencies and conflicts. Du Bois's ambivalent rendition of the Japanese activist discloses his contradictory, unstable, and evolving understanding of Japan's rise and its imperialism. On the one hand, Japan earned the quasi-equal position with Euro-American powers buttressed by its economic and military modernization. Du Bois admired Japan's achievement of equality with the West, and he emphasized its implication for global racial struggles. His assigning of Japan as the leader of "the darker world" would consolidate during his visit to Japan in 1937. As he wrote, "In the nineteenth century Japan saved the world from slavery to Europe . . . and now with a herculean task just behind her Japan is called again to lead world revolution."²⁴ Recalling his 1936–1937 trip to the Soviet Union, Manchuria, China, and Japan, Du Bois wrote in his unpublished manuscript "Russia and America" in 1950, "Japan intrigued me as holding the destiny of the darker work int [sic] its hands."²⁵ For Du Bois from the 1920s to the late 1930s, Japan was the best candidate to lead the world revolution. In *Princess*, among all the activists, the Japanese activist is the most senior and "evidently a man of importance."²⁶ Kautilya describes the Japanese activist as, "He is civilization—he is the high goal toward which the world blindly gropes . . . our leader . . . the guide and counselor, the great Prime Minister of the Darker World."²⁷ The intelligent, masculine, and decisive Japanese activist reflects Du

Bois's optimistic understanding of the implication of Japan's racial defiance against the West for the struggles of peoples of color in the globe.

Just as Du Bois was hopeful about Japan's rise, he was not unaware of the dissonance that Japan's domination in Asia and its endorsement of racial superiority may have brought to black-Asian alliances. By the time Du Bois published *Princess* in 1928, Japan had already annexed Ryukyu, Taiwan, and Korea and was contriving its invasion of Manchuria and China. Despite his scant writing on Japan in the 1920s, scrutinizing Du Bois's representation of the Japanese activist allows us to probe Du Bois's fantasy of black-Japan alliances replete with not only hope but also his concern with Japan's treacherous role in black-Asian solidarity. This ambivalent desire for Japan in his world revolution concept is best captured by the representation of the Japanese activist and his uneasy relationship with the black American Matthew.

In the novel's Part I "The Exile," Kautilya has just returned from the Soviet Union with reports on the revolutionary potential of both the world's working class and black Americans. In Berlin, she invites Matthew to dine with the Anti-Imperialist Council of Darker Peoples. At this dinner gathering, Matthew sits to the right of the princess and the Japanese activist to her left. The seat arrangement, along with the description of the Japanese activist as a well-dressed and well-mannered "man of importance," demonstrates the weight of Japan in challenging racial inequality and colonialism in the post-WWI world system. This get-together in Berlin is also a snapshot of Du Bois's attempt to link the racial struggles in the United States to the anticolonial struggles abroad, a geographical reorientation that his 1920 autobiography *Darkwater* starts to show.²⁸ In *Darkwater*, Du Bois commented on the paramount potential of the alliance between Japan, China, India, and black America, accounting for two-thirds of the world's population. This call for alliance continues in *Princess*, as Kautilya declares at the dinner table, "Our point is that Pan-Africa belongs logically with Pan-Asia; and for that reason Mr. Towns is welcomed tonight by you, I am sure, and by me especially."²⁹

What is worth noticing and unpacking, however, is that to integrate black America in the struggles of the darker world is not without opposition from these elite Asian activists. In *Princess*, Du Bois inserts the Japanese character as a barrier to black-Asian solidarity. It is the Japanese activist leading other elites in the Council of Darker Peoples who attempts to sever the contact between Matthew and the princess and sabotage their romance. The Japanese activist assumes the leadership of the darker worlds but marginalizes and patronizes black Americans. Such characterization resonates with the imperialist Japan that wielded its oppression against other nations of color.

The question of "a color line within a color line" between the Asian activists and Matthew is the focal point of Part I "The Exile" of this novel.³⁰ The championship of black-Asian alliance as a freedom project exemplified by the interracial romance should not obscure the dissonance and even animosity in black-Asian interactions. Although sympathetic to the suffering of blacks in

America and Africa, these elite activists cast in doubt the “ability, qualifications, and real possibilities of the black race in Africa or elsewhere.”³¹ Whereas Kautilya contends that black Americans are equally capable and oppressed as other peoples of color, the Japanese activist insists that only “those superior races whose necks now bear the yoke of the inferior rabble of Europe” can lead anticolonial movements.³² Mullen points out that the issue of “a color line within a color line” speaks to not only “racial and national enmity” but also the class tension between the proletarian black American and Asian elites. He contends that while the antiblack prejudice exhibits Du Bois’s caution against the caste system that may pose challenge to black-Asian alliances, this issue has been largely glossed in the novel.³³

However, I argue that Du Bois did not let the issue of antiblack prejudice go easily; the antagonism constitutes a driving force for the unfolding of *Princess*. The tension between Matthew and the elite activists is not only due to class differences, or Matthew’s lack of access to the high culture that his Asian counterparts are well versed in. Rather, Matthew’s distress comes from the racial ideology that prevails this elite group, reminding him of the U.S. racism that forces him to exile himself. As an African American, Matthew finds the racialized discourse so harsh yet so familiar that he has to make sure that they come from the “swarthy faces” instead of white Americans. For instance, the Egyptian believes that superior races have the right to rule and command the “inferior breeds—the lower classes—the rabble.”³⁴ The young Indian was contemptuous to “inferior” races. As the Japanese summarizes for Matthew, “The darker peoples are the best—the natural aristocracy, the makers of art, religion, philosophy, life, everything except brazen machines.”³⁵ Matthew finds it “humorous” and ironic that these elite activists only turn the table of racism around when they claim that “the inferior races were the ruling whites of Europe and America. The superior races were yellow and brown.”³⁶

At the core of the racial ideology is a kind of Asian supremacy, an ethno-nationalism that these elite nationalists resort to in opposing Western colonialism. Underpinned by racial and cultural superiority, these elite activists re-inscribe the discourse of race that they purport to interrogate and overthrow. The insistence on the racial superiority risks retreating into identity politics and falling into the competition for natural aristocracy. Rather than dismantling the racial and colonial logic, the Council of the Darker Peoples only upends the table in an essentialist and ethno-nationalist manner. The reversal of the binary does not transcend the dichotomy between the darker and the white worlds, nor the East and the West, only leaving the construction of race intact.

The mentality of supremacy in the Council of Darker Peoples marginalizes Matthew and relegates the black race as undesirable for joining world revolution. Homi Bhabha correctly points out the racial ideology in this elite activist group in *Princess*, “The genealogy of such a discourse of natural aristocracy is itself a rich *mélange* of the imperial racial imaginary.”³⁷ As Julia H. Lee also cautions us, the radical potential in a black-Asian alliance does not mean

that it is not susceptible to racial, gender, or sexual hegemonies.³⁸ The tension between Matthew and the Asian elite activists becomes more noticeable as the romantic relationship between Matthew and Kautilya grows. The first part of the novel ends with the Japanese activist's unsuccessful extortion of Kautilya's letter from Matthew who is entrusted by the princess to research and report on Manuel Perigua's organization, a fictional group that resembles Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. The Japanese degrades Matthew by calling black Americans "cowards." In a condescending manner, he casts the capability of black Americans in doubt as he tells Matthew, "I am not blaming them, poor things, they were slaves and children of slaves. They cannot even begin to rise in a century."³⁹ Then he evokes his Samurai heritage in Japan and Kautilya's royalty in India, questioning Matthew, "How can you think to place yourselves beside us as equals."⁴⁰ While the Japanese activist assumes the power to fight for the oppressed, he, along with other Asian elite activists, excludes black America from joining the world revolution. Instead, they want to "thoroughly disenchant" the princess of "this black American chimera."⁴¹

The black-Asian solidarity is undermined by not only the Asian ethno-nationalism but also the internal patriarchy within the Council of Darker Peoples. Although the Asian elite activists respect her royalty, they take Kautilya as a young lady vulnerable to dangerous ideas and are incredulous about her judgment and decision as a woman. Acting like a fatherly figure, the Japanese calls the princess "a mere woman—an inexperienced girl" and "well-meaning but young and undisciplined lady" whose "unfortunate visit to Russia has inoculated her with Bolshevism of a mild but dangerous type."⁴² The black-Asian solidarity is undermined due to not only the sense of racial and class superiority but also the masculinized and patriarchal hierarchy in the Council of Darker Peoples. Just as the Japanese activist schemes to separate Matthew and Kautilya, the Princess goes against the Japanese activist's will and eventually ties the knot with Matthew and gives birth to their baby. The romance is predicated upon resisting, if not eradicating, the patriarchy within the elite organization.

Although Weinbaum notes that these elites gravitate toward 'a more nuanced understanding of black labor as globally exploited' and eventually accept the representation of black America to their council, the black-Asian dissonance lingers on toward the end of the novel.⁴³ In Part III of the novel, Matthew becomes a politician in Chicago and receives the Japanese activist's invitation to join the Council of Darker Peoples in London. But Matthew declines this invitation partly due to his resentment of the Japanese who interferes his romantic relation with Kautilya and partly because of his diminishing interest in international affairs. In Part IV, the princess's Indian servant delivers an important letter that will bring Matthew to Virginia and reunite him with Kautilya. But the Indian servant attempts to persuade Matthew to leave their anticolonial struggles alone, ridiculing him, "What have you to do with royalty and divinity?"⁴⁴

Beneath the celebrated romance as a political strategy that unites the world against white supremacy and imperialism are instances of dissonance such as

racial and gender prejudice from within. The dissonance in black-Asian interactions, which is best summarized by Du Bois as “a color line within a color line, a prejudice within prejudice,” is as important as the explicit international solidarity, or romance in particular, for understanding the radical potential of black-Asian alliances. The Japanese activist, among other elite activists, dwells on his status of aristocracy, high-born blood. He derives the power for struggle from the historical rootedness, “millenniums of history . . . carefully thought-out philosophy and civilization,” in opposition to Europe’s “ill-fitting mélange of the cultures of the world.”⁴⁵ To use Paul Gilroy’s words, such rootedness dangerously supports ideas of nationalism, kinship, and ethnic absolutism.⁴⁶

It is exactly through his exposure to the dissonance that Matthew starts to reflect on his family history and the role of black America in world revolution. That is, he comes to the revelation of routed-ness in the diasporic experiences of slavery, exploitation, and racism that are inextricably involved in the development of capitalism and modernity. In his debate with the Asian elite activists, Matthew abandons his defense of the high-blood of black Americans in order to gain access to this elite activist group.⁴⁷ Instead, he turns to the working-class experience: “He found himself saying quite calmly and with slightly lifted chin: We American blacks are very common people. My grandfather was a whipped and driven slave; my father was never really free and died in jail. My mother plows and washes for a living. We come out of the depths—the blood and mud of the worth-while things in this old world.”⁴⁸ In this epiphany, Matthew foregrounds the black masses and their experience of displacement, slavery, racism, and exploitation. He routes the opportunities of struggle and the possibility for freedom through the black working-class experience, “the blood and mud of the worth-while things,” which are otherwise ridiculed by the Japanese and the Egyptian as “rabble” and “canaille.”

Matthew further questions the Japanese activist’s thesis of natural aristocracy, “But does this not all come out the same gate, with the majority of mankind serving the minority?” The Japanese replies, “It is the natural inborn superiority that matters.”⁴⁹ He adds that superior men can be found in all races: “the best of Asia...the British aristocracy . . . the German Adel . . . the French writers and financiers—of the rulers, artists, and poets of all peoples.”⁵⁰ Matthew makes the rebuttal that ability and talent do not reside in the aristocracy of Asia and Europe but are “buried among millions of men down in the great sodden masses of all and even in Black Africa.”⁵¹ The princess agrees with Mathew but her affirmation only meets the Egyptian’s dismissal, “Pardon, Royal Highness—but what art ever came from the canaille!”⁵² This is when Matthew starts to sing the “Great Song of Emancipation.” This global move, according to Alys Eve Weinbaum, is prompted by Matthew’s desire to show the black consonance with other oppressed peoples and to be recognized by peoples of other civilizations.⁵³ The American slave song grounded in the “very common people” and their mud and blood is not only a step to prove its worth to the world, but also a critique of the intelligentsia who converse fluently in high culture: “art in French, literature in

Italian, politics in Germany, and everything in clear English.”⁵⁴ It is above all a disarticulation to the logic of racial superiority embedded in the elite Council’s ideology of cultural nationalism, ethnocentrism, and aristocracy.

I evoke the detailed conversation and debate between Matthew and the elite activists to show the dialectic between dissonance and solidarity, which is the driving force for the plot of *Princess*. The different moments of dissonance between Matthew and Asian elite activists open up opportunities for the princess to learn of the potential of black America in world revolution, to expand the proletarian revolution—what she has learned from her visit to the Soviet Union—to the United States and the rest of the world. The black-Asian solidarity and interracial romance in *Princess* do not come naturally; they develop in a dialectical relationship with the necessary dissonance. One such moment, for example, is when Matthew is profoundly annoyed by the Egyptian’s contemptuous attitudes towards the masses. “He threw back his head and closed his eyes, and with the movement he heard again the Great Song.”⁵⁵ Upon hearing him singing the slave song, Kautilya asks Matthew if he believes that the masses of the world’s workers can rule as they are ruled. Matthew reaffirms that “the ability and capacity for culture is not the hereditary monopoly of a few, but the widespread of possibility for the majority of mankind.”⁵⁶

It is also through dissonance in black-Asian relations that Du Bois registers his analytic of race, class, and gender. Du Bois’s ambivalent representation of the Japanese activist anticipates his more critical assessment of Japan near the end of World War II. That is, Du Bois became disillusioned and aware that Japan tried to replace the European domination of Asia with “an Asiatic caste system under a ‘superior’ Japanese race.”⁵⁷ Probing the dissonance in black-Asian interactions beyond the romance, we can also see the dialectics in Du Bois’s transpacific imagination of world revolution. The epiphany of working class black American life does not come naturally but only with Matthew’s exposure to antiblack prejudice, class discrimination, and gender hierarchy in the Anti-Imperialist Council of Darker Peoples. The romance between Matthew and Kautilya is also driven forward by Matthew’s foregrounding of black working-class life and Kautilya’s investigation of revolutionary potential in black America and her transformation into a worker in the United States.

As Kautilya briefs Matthew in her letter with the two factions in the Council of Darker Peoples: one “blood of Shoguns” faction believes in use of force to defeat the whites and has no “faith in alliance with oppressed labor,” and the other believes in the path of “cooperation among the best and poorest.”⁵⁸ The shogun faction echoes the V-shaped racial formation spearheaded by Japan and followed by black America and India, and the other represents an emergent anti-imperialist V-shaped formation headed by the Soviet Union and followed by China and black America. In the following section, I will discuss the second V-shaped formation and Du Bois’s imagination of China’s role in world revolution that has emerged in *Princess*.

China in Du Bois's Imagination of World Revolution in the 1920s

In 1931, Japan initiated the Mukden Incident and annexed Manchuria, and in 1935, it occupied North China. Two months after the Marco Polo Incident in July, 1937 marking the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War, Du Bois wrote, "When China refused to organize herself, but made herself a part of the imperial industry and English and French industrial expansion, Japan seized the opportunity during the paralysis of European power, and undertook this duty herself."⁵⁹ Instead of calling out Japan's imperialist aggression and oppression over China, Du Bois understood the second Sino-Japanese War in terms of China's and Japan's divergent relations with Western powers. He interpreted Japan's invasion of China as resistance to Western imperialism; whereas China kowtowed to the West, Japan assumed the leadership role of darker nations.

In his recent book *Un-American: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution* (2015), Mullen argues that Du Bois "resolved what he called the 'contradictions and implications' of revolution in China and Japan by setting them in dialectical relation."⁶⁰ As Mullen contends, Du Bois's belated awareness of China's role in the world revolution conception can be partly attributed to his indifference to Chinese workers' strikes from 1924 to 1927.⁶¹ It was from 1937 onward, especially with his encounter with the Chinese working class in Shanghai, that Du Bois began to imagine beyond "the 'national' limitations of his own attachment to Japan" and slowly came up with "a new world revolution conception that synthesized "'Pan-Asian' Marxism as something concomitant to his Pan-African support for Bolshevism."⁶²

Rather than characterize Du Bois's awareness of China's role in world revolution as "belated," through a close reading of Du Bois's representation of China and black-Chinese solidarity in *Princess*, I find that China already occupied a critical position in Du Bois's concept of world revolution in the late 1920s. Fictional as *Princess* is, it portrays the Chinese revolution of 1924–1927 in a realistic fashion, albeit incomplete. Unlike other Asian elites, the two Chinese activists acknowledge black America's critical position in world revolution. Crossing the color line within the color line, they share with Matthew the belief in power of the masses. It is in *Princess* that Du Bois registers his inchoate understanding of China as a linchpin that links the Soviet-inspired proletarian revolution to black America. This black-Chinese solidarity imagined by Du Bois in the 1920s anticipated his post-1936 synthesis of Pan-Asian Marxism and Pan-African support for Bolshevism and his revelation of China as what Mullen calls "a centerpiece" in Du Bois's revolutionary typology from 1937 to 1950.⁶³

In *Princess*, Matthew's affinity with the two Chinese activists presents a stark contrast to the Japanese activist's enmity toward Matthew and the elite activists' antiblack prejudice. The two Chinese activists—one man and one woman—have accepted and stood with black America even before they meet Matthew. The inclusion of a female activist from China possibly has to do with

the fact that Du Bois saw many female students at the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow during his 1926 visit to the Soviet Union.⁶⁴ At the special committee meeting prior to Kautilya's dinner gathering in Berlin prior to Kautilya's dinner, almost all the elite activists, except the Chinese, agree that they should not make alliance with black Americans lest they lose their dignity by integrating those "slaves and half-men."⁶⁵ Kautilya tells Matthew that the Chinese activists do not share other Asian elites' goal of "a substitution of the rule of dark men in the world for the rule of white."⁶⁶ Throughout Matthew's debate with the Japanese activist, the two Chinese activists lend him their support. They concur with Matthew that "the darker world except the darkest" defined by other elite activists is "a pretty large omission."⁶⁷ They also endorse Matthew's assumption that the mass of workers can rule the world. When Matthew argues that "the ability and capacity for culture is not the hereditary monopoly of a few but the widespread possibility for the majority of mankind," the Japanese and the Egyptian express serious doubt.⁶⁸ But the Chinese man believes that Matthew's claim will revolutionize the world, and the Chinese woman defends it by dismissing other activists' doubt and contending, "The unexpected happens."⁶⁹ To the Chinese activists and Matthew, the racial struggle is not to replace the rule of the whites with that of the peoples of color, but to overthrow the domination of the few over the masses. The convergence between Matthew and the Chinese activists over the goal and strategy of racial and anticolonial struggles counters the Japanese activist's cultural nationalism and ethnocentrism. This alignment of the Chinese activists with Matthew, countering the V-shaped formation led by Japan, points to a V-shaped formation that is inspired by the Soviet Union (from which Kautilya returns) and manifested in an anti-imperialist China aided by the Soviet Union and black-Chinese solidarity.

Arguably, it is by no accident that Du Bois singles out the Chinese activists in the Council of the Darker Peoples. The critical changes in China from 1924 to 1927 may have inspired Du Bois to seek alternatives to Japan's leadership and its attachment to ethno-nationalism. During this critical period, China occupied a transient position in his transpacific imagination of world revolution as a model of government by people of color against Western imperialism. To uncover Du Bois's imagination of China in the 1920s, we need to examine the historical conditions surrounding the representation of China and the Chinese activists. In his correspondence with John Hope, the then president of Morehouse College in 1925, Du Bois requested the names of the people of color attending the conference on China at Johns Hopkins.⁷⁰ The same year, Du Bois also contacted E. C. Carter, a leader in the YMCA on Asian issues for "a list of persons attending the conference on China and a copy of the resolutions adopted."⁷¹ The play *Roar, China!* that Du Bois watched in Moscow in 1926 is based on the 1924 Cockchafer Incident at Wanhsien (Wanxian), a town in Southwest China near the Yangzi River. An American merchant Edwin Hawley was found drowned during a conflict with Chinese boatmen. The British navy subsequently threatened to bombard Wanhsien and demanded immediate execution of two Chinese boatmen.

Intimidated by the British navy, the Wanh sien authority executed Xiang Bikui and Cui Xingbang without due process in less than four hours.⁷² *Roar, China!* was first premiered at the Meyerhold theatre in Moscow in 1926 and other major cities later including Berlin, Frankfurt, and Tokyo. The play and its global influence reflect the “agitating age of internationalist political solidarity, an age enthralled by the utopian potentials of collective struggles against colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism.”⁷³

Co-existing with his ambivalent desire for Japan and romantic Indian fantasy in *Princess* was his vision in embryo for China’s role in world revolution. Du Bois paid close attention to the Chinese revolution from 1924 to 1927, which can be seen from the representation of China and black-China affinity in *Princess*. In Chicago, Matthew establishes friendship with a Chinese laundry owner. “The Chinaman liked him and was grateful for protection against the police and rowdies. He liked the Chinaman for his industry, his cleanliness, his quiet philosophy of life.”⁷⁴ The laundry owner reintroduces the Chinese activist whom Matthew has already met in Berlin. In fact, “his young Chinese friend of Berlin” has been expecting Matthew for a few days. Interrupting the Chinese man’s small-talk greeting, Matthew hastes to inquire about China. The Chinese man updates Matthew with the status quo in China around the spring of 1925. “The yellow face glowed. ‘The Great Day dawns,’ the Chinese man says. ‘Freedom begins. Russia is helping. We are marching forward. The Revolution is on. To the sea with Europe and European slavery!’”⁷⁵ Here Du Bois’s realistic representation of what Chinese historians call the Chinese Great Revolution Era from 1924 to 1927 resonates with the changing political dynamics in China: the solidarity and the following split between the fledging Chinese Communist Party and the ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), the passing of the Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, the Northern Expedition against warlord proxies of the Western powers and Japan, and the despotic rule of Chiang Kai-shek.

“Russia is helping” refers to Comintern’s aid to the Chinese Nationalist Party. The 1911 Xinhai Revolution overthrew the Qing Dynasty and ended the feudalist rule of China for over 2,000 years. But Sun Yat-sen’s Republic of China government was not recognized by the West and Japan who had warlords as proxies rule over China. Under the threat from these domestic warlords representing foreign powers, Sun Yat-sen realized that the Chinese Nationalist Party had to make an alliance with the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, the Comintern concluded that China’s proletarian class was still weak and thus the Chinese Communist Party was unfit to independently lead the Chinese revolution. To achieve national liberation, it had to cooperate with the Chinese Nationalist Party, which represented the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie.⁷⁶ The converged interests between China and the Soviet Union made the “KMT-CCP United Frontline” possible.⁷⁷ “The revolution,” as the Chinese activist mentions, refers to the imminent Northern Expedition of 1926, a military campaign under the lead of the KMT-CCP United Frontline to defeat the warlord agencies of European and Japanese imperialism in China and to overthrow the Beiyang government.⁷⁸ “To

the sea with Europe and European slavery” refers to the Chinese people’s anti-imperialist campaigns to abolish unequal treaties with Euro-America and Japan.

One of the Chinese activist’s missions in the United States is to raise funds for the Chinese revolution. The KMT-CCP United Frontline and its Northern Expedition to eradicate warlords and reunify China had significant influence among Chinese immigrants. As Josephine Fowler observes, the Chinese revolution in the 1920s showed the “multidimensional nature of China’s solidarity work and its spread across space and time.”⁷⁹ Through such multidimensional transpacific reverberation, China became the touchstone and primary site of resistance and repression.⁸⁰ As Sun Yat-sen remarked on the enormous contribution of Chinese immigrants to China’s revolution, “The overseas Chinese are the Mother of the Revolution.”⁸¹ Du Bois captures this diasporic nature of China’s revolution by highlighting Chinese immigrants’ contribution to China’s national movements for independence. Similar to Sun Yat-sen who collected funds from Chinese diasporas for China’s 1911 Xinhai revolution, the Chinese activist tells Matthew about his fund raising in the United States for the Chinese revolution, “Six months. I am collecting funds. It heartens one to see how these hard-working patriots give. I have collected two millions of dollars.”⁸²

This Chinese activist also intends to persuade Matthew to make alliances with labor unions in Chicago. Embracing a Trotskyist proletarian internationalism to unite multiracial groups through class struggles and working-class emancipation, he asks Matthew to help local labor unions and wants to put Matthew “in touch with some of the white laboring folk and their leaders.”⁸³ If Matthew’s decline of the Japanese activist’s invitation to the Council of Darker Peoples indicates Du Bois’s ambivalent attitude towards Japan’s rise, Matthew’s refusal to make an alliance with the white American working class reflects Du Bois’s skepticism in solving the race problem in the United States solely through the lens of class struggle. As Du Bois argued in 1921, although theoretically, black America is part of the world proletariat because their cheap labor is exploited, practically, black Americans suffer from “physical oppression, social ostracism, economic exclusion and personal hatred” from white proletariat.⁸⁴ The dialectics between race and class constitutes Du Bois’s political thinking throughout his life and manifests in these two contested V-shaped formation in *Princess*.

In his study of Du Bois’s politics in the 1930s, Gerald Horne shows Du Bois’s dialectical view of the construction of race by class. On the one hand, Du Bois refined that “the so-called race problem was at root a socioeconomic problem,” not dissimilar from the exploitative and oppressed positions of the masses, “who in some cases happened to be ‘colored.’”⁸⁵ But on the other hand, Du Bois remained skeptical of reducing racial problems to economic struggles because of his “dearth faith in the feasibility of class-based coalitions across racial lines.”⁸⁶ Du Bois wrote in 1937, “Race consciousness” and “class solidarity” form a “perfect Hegelian category.”⁸⁷ He noted that in the United States, the labor movement could not start without gathering around the Negro labor group.⁸⁸ The thesis of race consciousness upheld by the Japanese activist and the

antithesis of labor solidarity across color lines proposed by this Chinese activist are synthesized into the global solidarity for racial struggles (as represented by the Council of Darker People), from which labor consciousness arises. The labor movements should naturally start with peoples of color; as Du Bois wrote, “There will be no world labor movement which does not begin with black Africa, brown India, and yellow Asia.”⁸⁹ In *Princess*, black America embodies the dialectics between these two formations as the royal Kautilya turns into a menial worker in the United States and marries Matthew in Virginia. While many have noticed the pageantry of a united, multicultural, multiracial, and multireligious world in the novel’s finale, few have noticed that the reunion of Kautilya and Matthew takes place on the eve of May Day, the International Workers’ Day. May Day is a day set up by the Second International to commemorate the Haymarket Affair in Chicago on May 4, 1886. *Princess*, as a primer for world revolution, anticipates Du Bois’s synthesis of the dialectics between race and class by foreseeing the proletarian dictatorship by peoples of color, which he would eventually find in China in the 1950s.⁹⁰

But China’s anti-imperialist campaign was short-lived with the beginning of Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionary rule and the outbreak of the first Chinese Civil War in 1927, interrupting Du Bois’s inchoate imagination of China as a leader of world revolution and an alternative to Japan in resisting Western powers. Chiang Kai-shek’s heroic aura as the commander-in-chief of the Northern Expedition was chipped and tarnished when he started a bloody coup against the Chinese Communist Party and the leftwing Chinese Nationalist Party members, which is known as the Shanghai Massacre or “the April 12 Purge.” Du Bois wrote in *The Crisis* in 1927 that “we have been assured by English correspondents that the Chinese Nationalists movement was split into impotent factions.”⁹¹ As the other Chinese activist, a young and “little Chinese lady,” tells Matthew, “Oh, but if only we had a little more strength and unity now and then at critical moments, we could climb a step and lift the sodden, smitten mass.”⁹² She continues to criticize the reactionary turn of Chiang Kai-shek from “so fine and young a warrior” to someone she finds bewildering and bitter to describe—“Today, what is he? I do not know.” She then bemoans Sun Yat-sen’s death, “Oh, why was it that Sun Yat Sen must die so soon?”⁹³

Du Bois wrote about China in “The wide wide world” in April 1927 (the time coinciding with the time when Matthew meets the Chinese woman), the Europeans “have brought to pass there the Great White Way of pitting the weak and oppressed and impoverished against the oppressed and impoverished and weak and letting them fight it out until they are too helpless to resist white ‘civilization’ and ‘Christianity.’”⁹⁴ He interpreted Chiang Kai-shek’s betrayal of the Chinese revolution and the breakdown of the China-Russia alliance as Western powers’ cooptation of the Chinese anti-imperialist struggles from 1924 to 1927. He believed that with Sun Yat-sen’s passing and Chiang Kai-shek’s ascendance to power, China fell under the “leadership of modern industrial imperialism.”⁹⁵ He was much concerned with the lack of unity in China and its internal conflicts

that had undermined its anti-imperialist campaign. In his unpublished work “Russia and America” finished in 1950, Du Bois recounted the split of KMT-CCP United Frontline: “He [Chiang] deserted the Communists, murdered thousands of students and workers, and with the help of rich bankers set up rule in Shanghai . . . his armies moved north and seized Peiping and his government gained recognition from all Europe.”⁹⁶ To Du Bois, Chiang Kai-shek was no different from the warlords that he had defeated during the Northern Expedition, and with the start of his despotic rule of China in 1927, the Chinese revolution failed. Du Bois’s abhorrence towards the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist Chiang Kai-shek whom he later called “the traitorous Christian convert and political murderer” would affect his judgment of the second Sino-Japanese war.⁹⁷ When analyzing the second Sino-Japanese conflict in 1937, he concluded that the Chinese were the “Asian Uncle Toms of the same spirit that animates the ‘white folks’ nigger’ in the United States.”⁹⁸ This antagonism towards Chiang also set the stage for his uncritical endorsement of the Communist China over the Republic of China (Taiwan) controlled by Chiang Kai-shek in the 1950s.

Du Bois’s realistic portrayal of China in *Princess* also shows that he interpreted the Chinese revolution of 1924–1927 primarily as an anticolonial nationalist movement backed by the Soviet Union. Du Bois’s trip to the Soviet Union in 1926 where he visited the Chinese revolutionary training school in Moscow and watched the revolutionary play *Roar, China!* facilitated his understanding of China’s semicolonial status quo, but the visit also constrained his understanding of the depth and scope of the Chinese revolution, and most notably, the workers’ movements in China during this period. For example, the 1925 May Thirtieth Movement against the Japanese and British capitalists in fact offered the bottom-up momentum to the United Frontline’s Northern Expedition against the warlords and proxies of imperialist powers. Although he lashed out at Chiang Kai-shek in *Princess*, Du Bois made no mention of Chiang’s adversary, the Chinese Communist Party, which had been coordinating workers’ strikes in major cities and peasant movements in rural areas. Instead, he primarily interpreted the United Frontline as Sun Yat-sen’s cooperation with the Soviet Union.

As Mullen argues, from the end of World War I to the Cold War, Stalin’s “Socialism in One Country Policy” drove world revolution forces towards anticolonial national liberation movements in each country in lieu of a worldwide proletarian revolution.⁹⁹ In his analysis of Japan’s state capitalism in the 1930s, Du Bois reduced “the fight against capitalism to the fight against racial/colonial oppression, not exploitation and expropriation of labor,” and this, according to Mullen, exemplifies Du Bois’s susceptibility to Stalinism.¹⁰⁰ In the 1920s, Du Bois’s interpretation of the Chinese revolution was also restricted to an anti-colonial movement under China-Soviet cooperation, while ignoring Chinese workers’ movements as well as the emerging Chinese Communist Party. In other words, in the late 1920s, Du Bois’s positioning of China in the concept of world revolution was also tinged with Stalinism. The Comintern, as mentioned

earlier, deemed the Chinese Communist Party unfit to independently carry out revolution and thus relied on and aided Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party that represented interests of national bourgeois to accomplish China's national independence. Aligned with the Comintern's directive of the United Frontline, Du Bois assessed the Chinese revolution as an anticolonial and anti-imperialist campaign for national liberation, but not as a proletarian resistance to capitalistic exploitation of western powers and Japan.

But although Du Bois's indifference to China's "ripest conditions for a workers' revolution in the world" from 1924 to 1927, as Mullen contends, is an important aspect of his belated awareness of China's role in the world revolution, it was in *Princess* that Du Bois positioned China as one of his frames of reference for black struggles in the United States and delineated the V-shaped formation headed by the Soviet Union and followed by China and black America.¹⁰¹ What is most noticeable is the Chinese activists' endorsement of Matthew's claim in regard to the power and potential of the masses. This black-Chinese solidarity is in stark contrast with other elites' antiblack prejudice and their patrol of a color line within a color line. In particular, the mass line in black-Chinese solidarity in *Princess* planted seeds in what later became the bulk of Maoist and third world revolution thoughts in Du Bois's revised concept of world revolution in the 1950s. While this V-shaped formation was disrupted by the outbreak of the first Chinese civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party in 1927, Du Bois's short-lived interest in an anti-imperialist China and fleeting hope for China as an opportunity for the black-Asian solidarity in *Princess* nonetheless anticipates his shift to Communism and coalition with the Communist China during the Cold War era. In 1959, speaking to over 1,000 faculty members and students at Peking university on his ninety-first birthday, Du Bois warned Africa and the world against the lie that "mankind can only rise by walking on men."¹⁰² Resonating Matthew's epiphany of the black masses in thinking through the issue of ethno-nationalism in his confrontation with the Asian elite activists in Berlin, Du Bois urged the audience to realize that "the great mass of mankind is freeing itself from wage slavery, while private capital in Britain, France, and now in America, is still trying to maintain civilization and comfort for a few on the toil, disease, and ignorance of the mass of men."¹⁰³ *Princess* does not only show Du Bois's sensibility to "the shadow of a color line within a color line," but also anticipates the ultimate color of his own political view when he consolidated the black alliance with Communist China during the Cold War. Yet again his susceptibility to Stalinism and China's state-managed Chinese-black alliance left him unaware of the failure of Mao's Great Leap Forward Movement and the subsequent Great Famine that would claim 40 million lives at the turn of the 1950s.

Conclusion: Multiplicity and Complexity of Du Bois's Concept of World Revolution in *Dark Princess*

The very complexity and multiplicity of Du Bois's transpacific imagination of world revolution would converge into his inclination toward proletarians, a mass line, and Communism, as this is already prescient in *Princess*. Du Bois's representations of the Japanese and the Chinese activists are quite stark in comparison but are also interdependent, preceding what Mullen calls the dialectical relation between the two countries in the black activist's radical thinking of Asia in the 1930s. The veteran Japanese activist as an established leader of peoples of color treats Matthew in a condescending manner and the princess in a patriarchal way. For most part in *Princess*, the Japanese activist marginalizes, if not excludes, black America in world revolution. The two young Chinese activists in contrast are not only sympathetic to black America, but also hopeful for and supportive of its participation in world revolution. They oppose antiblack prejudice in the Council of the Darker Peoples and take to task the goal of their resistance to replace the rule of whites with the rule of the darker peoples. With a shared belief in the liberation of the masses, they build solidarity with Matthew.

Arguably, the differentiation between the representations of Japan, China, and India in *Princess* is not something Du Bois has done inadvertently. Rather it shows Du Bois's sensibility to the geopolitical tensions and colonial histories within Asia. The black-Asian solidarity exhibited in *Princess* cannot be compressed into a universal and smooth historical narrative without heeding its dissonance and differences. Instead of being a single evolutionary narrative, these affiliations (with Japan, India, and China) oftentimes coexist, negotiate, and contest with each other in his transpacific imagination. If so, to think through Du Bois's concept of world revolution, transnational American studies scholars may need to pay more attention to the intricacies of inter-Asian relations as well as dissonances in black-Asian relationships.

Notes

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1. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil* (New York: Hartcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 49.

2. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Russia and America: An Interpretation" (Unpublished manuscript, 1950), W.E.B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 127.

3. In his unpublished manuscript "Russia and America," Du Bois wrote that he saw "Mey-erhold's prophetic 'Hail China!'" in Moscow in 1926. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 27. In his novel *Dark Princess*, he calls the play "Howl China!". W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dark Princess: A Romance* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 21. The most common translation of the play's name is "*Roar, China!*". According to modern Chinese studies scholar Xiaobing Tang, *Roar, China!* may have also inspired Langston Hughes who saw its production in New York in the late 1930s. See Xiaobing Tang, "Echoes of Roar, China! On Vision and Voice in Modern Chinese Art," *Positions* 14, no. 2 (2006): 490.

4. For example, its famous alumni include Deng Xiaoping, the paramount leader of the People's Republic of China in the post-Mao reform era, and Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's son and President of Taiwan (the Republic of China).
5. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 25.
6. *Ibid.*, 141.
7. *Ibid.*, 25.
8. Claudia Tate, introduction to *Dark Princess*, by Du Bois, xix.
9. Herman Beavers, "Romancing the Body Politic: Du Bois's Propaganda of the Dark World," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568, (March 2000): 263.
10. Alys Eve Weinbaum, "Reproducing Racial Globality: W. E. B. DuBois and the Sexual Politics of Black Nationalism," *Social Text* 19, no. 2 (2001): 18, 26. Other more recent studies have continued the study of the racial, sexual, and gendered constructions of black internationalism but they primarily focus on the character of Kautilya. See for instance: Vermonja Alston, "Cosmopolitan Fantasies, Aesthetics, and Bodily Value: W. E. B. Du Bois's *Dark Princess* and the Trans/Gendering of Kautilya," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3, no. 1 (2011); Laila Sorya Haidarali, "Browning the Dark Princess: Asian Indian Embodiment of 'New Negro Womanhood,'" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 32, no. 1 (2012); Elizabeth Sheehan, "'This Great Work of the Creation of Beauty': Imagining Internationalism in W.E. B. Du Bois's *Dark Princess* and Black Beauty Culture," *Modern Fiction Studies* 62, no. 3 (2016).
11. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 22.
12. Bill Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), xvi.
13. Arnold Rampersad, "Du Bois's Passage to India: *Dark Princess*," in *W. E. B. Du Bois on Race and Culture*, eds. Bernard Bell, Emily Grosholz, and James Stewart (New York: Routledge, 1996), 161.
14. Dohra Ahmad, "'More than Romance': Genre and Geography in *Dark Princess*," *English Literary History* 69, no. 3 (2002): 775.
15. Bill Mullen, "Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, and the Afro-Asian International," *positions* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 217-239.
16. Bill Mullen, *Un-American: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 67.
17. *Ibid.*, 134.
18. Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 79.
19. Mullen, "Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, and the Afro-Asian International," 226.
20. Yuichiro Onishi, "The New Negro of the Pacific: How African Americans Forged Cross-racial Solidarity with Japan, 1917-1922," *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 210.
21. *Ibid.*, 197-202.
22. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 127.
23. Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 81.
24. W. E. B. Du Bois, "What Japan has Done," in *W. E. B. Du Bois on Asia Crossing the World Color Line*, eds. Bill Mullen and Cathryn Watson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 78.
25. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 127.
26. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 18.
27. *Ibid.*, 262.
28. Alys Eve Weinbaum, "Reproducing Racial Globality," *Social Text* 19, no. 2 (2001): 25.
29. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 20.
30. *Ibid.*, 22.
31. *Ibid.*, 21.
32. *Ibid.*, 22.
33. Mullen, "Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, and the Afro-Asian International," 226.
34. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 22.
35. *Ibid.*, 23.
36. *Ibid.*, 24.
37. Homi Bhabha, "The Black Savant and the Dark Princess," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 50, no. 1-3 (2004): 145.
38. Julia H. Lee, *Interracial Encounters: Reciprocal Representations in African American and Asian American Literatures, 1896-1937* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 2.
39. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 30.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, 29, 33.
43. Weinbaum, "Reproducing Racial Globality," 32.
44. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 300.

45. *Ibid.*, 25.
46. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 2–5, 112.
47. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 23.
48. *Ibid.*, 23.
49. *Ibid.*, 25.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. Weinbaum, “Reproducing Racial Globality,” 26.
54. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 19.
55. *Ibid.*, 25.
56. *Ibid.*, 26.
57. W. E. B. Du Bois, “Japan, Color, and Afro-Americans,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 25, 1945 in *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1970), 86.
58. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 297.
59. Du Bois, “What Japan Has Done,” in *W. E. B. Du Bois on Asia Crossing the World Color Line*, 90.
60. Mullen, *Un-American*, 130.
61. *Ibid.*, 132.
62. *Ibid.*, 130.
63. *Ibid.*, 143.
64. Du Bois, “Russia and America,” 27.
65. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 247.
66. *Ibid.*, 248.
67. *Ibid.*, 19.
68. *Ibid.*, 26.
69. *Ibid.*, 27.
70. W. E. B. Du Bois to John Hope, September 24, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1.
71. W. E. B. Du Bois to E. C. Carter, November 17, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1.
72. Ying Junhao 應俊豪, “Hangyun paojian yu waijiao—1924 nian zhongying wanxianan yanjiu” 航運、砲艦與外交—1924年中英萬縣案研究 [Navigation, Gunboats and Diplomacy: A Research on the 1924 Wanhhsien Incident], *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 國立政治大學歷史學報 [*The Journal of History at National Chengchi University*] 28, (2007): 287–328.
73. Xiaobing Tang, “Echoes of Roar, China! On Vision and Voice in Modern Chinese Art,” *Positions* 14, no. 2 (2006): 484.
74. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 134.
75. *Ibid.*, 135.
76. Yang Jun and Cheng Enfu, 楊俊、程恩富, “Gongchan guoji yu zhongguo geming” 共产国际与中国革命 [The Comintern and the Chinese Revolution], *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中国社会科学 [*Social Sciences in China*] 9, (2014): 173.
77. Also known as the First United Frontline, it was formed in 1923 in order to fight against warlords supported by foreign powers in China.
78. The Beiyang government existed from 1912 to 1928 and was headquartered in Beijing. It was internationally recognized as the legitimate government of the Republic of China, but domestically challenged by the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) led by Sun Yat-sen.
79. Josephine Fowler, *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists: Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919–1933* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 55.
80. *Ibid.*
81. Quoted from Jianli Huang, “Umbilical Ties: The Framing of the Overseas Chinese as the Mother of the Revolution,” *Frontiers of History in China* 6, no. 2 (2001): 223.
82. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 135.
83. *Ibid.*, 136.
84. W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Class Struggle,” *The Crisis*, 22 (August 1921): 151.
85. Gerald Horne, *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009), 133.
86. *Ibid.*
87. W. E. B. Du Bois, “Forums of Fact and Opinion,” *The Pittsburgh Courier*, Jun 5, 1937 in *Newspaper Columns by W. E. B. Du Bois*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited, 1986), 207.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*

90. For Du Bois's visit and radical imagination of China in the 1950s, see Robeson Taj Frazier, *The East is Black: Cold War China in the Black Racial Imagination* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
91. W. E. B. Du Bois, "As the crow flies, ca July 1927," W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1. "The Chinese Nationalists movement" here refers to the Chinese Revolution from 1924 to 1927.
92. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 291–92.
93. *Ibid.*
94. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Wide Wide World," April, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1.
95. Du Bois "The Vast Miracle" and "China and Russia," in *W.E. B. Du Bois on Asia Crossing the World Color Line*, 192, 89.
96. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 142.
97. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Discussing United States Foreign Relations with China and the Economic Condition in China," 1953, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 2.
98. Horne, *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography*, 141.
99. Mullen, *Un-American*, 17.
100. *Ibid.*, 135.
101. *Ibid.*, 132.
102. W. E. B. Du Bois, "China and Africa," *Peking Review*, March 3, 1959, 12.
103. *Ibid.*